1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Bahianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas [342] grandes--if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical--generally [489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or [571] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown [484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

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567 Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation- [563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 on trains owned by the sugar company. In addition, much of the sugar, rum,
497 and alcohol which is manufactured by the big usinas is transported to Salvador over the lines of the Leste.

493 As has been suggested, automotive transport has come to have great
491 importance in the Recôncavo, despite the lack of good roads, the high cost of vehicles and fuel, and the competition of both boats and trains. No
491 município in the region can be said to have a road network, and usually only the cidades and in a few cases large villas are connected with other parts of the region. The principal road of the region is a dirt highway which connects Salvador with Feira de Santana. Feira is an important transportation center for the Northeast of Brazil, for it is the southern terminus of the Nordestina, the trunk highway which crosses the Sertão. The Nordestina joins the main road to Rio de Janeiro and the road to Salvador at Feira de Santana. A branch from the Salvador-Feira road turns southward and, passing through Cachoeira, São Félix, and Cruz das Almas, connects westward to Castro Alves and southward to the cacao zone. There is also a road from Salvador to Alagoinhas and other cities of the Tertiary zone farther north. A few lesser roads feed into these three main highways--the most important of these is the connection between Santo Amaro and the Feira to Salvador road.

All of the main highways are two-lane dirt roads which are almost always passable but which are extremely rough and are dusty in dry
491 weather and slippery when wet. The quality of the roads is probably
484 best illustrated by the time required to journey across the Recôncavo. The road distance from Salvador to Cruz das Almas is about 125 miles; the time required for a non-stop trip is 6 to 7 hours. It should be added that despite the poor road conditions, traffic moves very fast, and there are many accidents. To a very limited extent it is possible

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

491 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails
484 to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main
499 sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the
315 highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been
655 drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In
491 conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the
499 first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

494 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of
493 trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

health post, and the bar have refrigerators. On Saturday and Sunday nights there is a movie, the same film being shown both nights.

There are only two roads leading out of the town. One goes northwest to Centro, following a ridge which leads along the river through a section of poor soil devoted to gardens of manioc and bananas. On horseback it is a trip of approximately two hours to Centro. The other road leads northeast into the sugar-cane fields and to the sugar factory and then continues east, eventually leading to the oil fields of Conselho and out onto the major Bahian artery from Salvador to the interior city of Feira de Santana. The journey from Vila Recôncavo to the main highway takes about four hours on horseback. Although the local road, made during the empire and part of the public domain, is called the "royal road," it is really only one-track dirt. In the summer it affords a hard surface because the hot sun bakes the earth, but during the winter it turns into a river of mud. During the rainy season the layer of clay underneath the topsoil holds the water, turning the roads into practically impassable quagmires. The situation becomes even worse just after the rains end and the surface dries, for when a man or animal breaks through the dried surface and sinks down into the clay the suction created is difficult to overcome. A trip which during the summer takes half an hour on horseback may take from three to four hours in the winter. The horse must pick and choose each step with the utmost care. During these months travel is extremely fatiguing for horses and mules, and frequent changes of mount are necessary. During this part of the year one avoids making an inland journey if possible, and keeps to the waterways.

From Usina to Conselho (see map of community), the road has been recently coated with oil, sand, and broken stone by the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo in an attempt to make an all-weather route. The surfacing has proved fairly satisfactory but very expensive. Although this highway follows the old "royal road," it is owned by the conselho. When a plantation owner of the area wishes to pass over it in his car or jeep, he must secure permission from the conselho office in Salvador. Nevertheless, in the past year this road has proved a boon to the plantation owners, who can now go back and forth to their homes in the city in about two hours at almost any time of the year, eliminating the long journey by horseback or canoe to the town of Vila Recôncavo to take the boat. The

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city.

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them.

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration.

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

463

	Barbers	2
	Apprentice bricklayers	1
		44
Group 4 (miscellaneous)	Unemployed	11
	Factory workers	9
	Plantation workers	3
	Employees of Institute Vila Recôncavo (which will be described later)	8
		31

The federal and state employees in the town consist of the following people: 463 632

25 petroleum workers
9 teachers and maintenance workers from the nearby federal school
6 primary school teachers
3 tax collectors and secretary
1 federal statistics agent
1 postal and telegraph agent
1 mail carrier
2 secretaries of the Justice of the Peace
1 secretary of the civil register
1 police secretary
1 police lieutenant
2 policemen (this number changes occasionally)
1 malaria serviceman (called "José do DDT")

The Justice of the Peace, who is not listed above, does not live in the county but holds court in the courthouse once a week, or at other times if the occasion demands. His secretary, a local woman, does most of the work and has everything in readiness when he arrives. [693]

The twenty-five men listed as petroleum workers represent that industry's major contribution to the town. The oil workers receive relatively good wages, steady and sufficient for them to engage the services of at least one servant and a laundress. They may therefore be included in Group 1, even though they are not white-collar workers as are the others of the group. These men, rather than living in the petroleum workers' camp which is near the factory, have brought their fam- 463 [484]

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

463
[484] ilies to live in Vila Recôncavo and travel to their work and back daily. During the summer this trip is made by truck, but in the winter it is made by foot or if possible by canoe. The petroleum industry has attracted few local people as yet. Instead, strangers have come into the area as petroleum employees. A favorite conversation among fishermen is a discussion of whether they should give up fishing and go to work in the oil fields. The general feeling is that they are better off as fishermen. As they put it, if they fished for the same number of hours as the oil men work, they could earn more money than the petroleum workers. In their present occupation they can work as much or as little as they wish, the major determinant being whether there is enough in the house to eat and still a little left over for cigarettes, Coca-Colas, and occasional new clothes. They are an independent group, and are frequently criticized as being lazy because they will not take steady employment. This seems an unfair criticism in view of the rigors of fishing.

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[875] The others listed in the group of federal and state employees have permanent appointments to their jobs and in all but a few cases are local people. The federal tax collector and his wife, who is one of the schoolteachers, are strangers to the area, but are now well integrated in the town. Three other schoolteachers are from other parts of the state and spend only the school year in Vila Recôncavo. There is a difference between the teachers who make Vila Recôncavo their home and those who do not. Those who spend only the school year there have little or no contact with the local population, apparently feeling that they are superior to anyone there. They are young women, but do not look for husbands among local men and openly admit they do not like the town. They are prominent in the group which calls the fishermen lazy and uncultured, and in general are unsympathetic to the town dwellers.

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632 There are sixteen municipal employees, all of them local people, consisting of the county secretary, the treasurer and his assistant, the contador who takes care of the county spending, the fiscal who is supposed to supervise the collecting of the county funds, three county tax collectors, and others who occupy minor posts such as courthouse porter. These positions are appointive, and as a result of the relative stability of the area's politics the appointees are seldom changed. The secretary is the man who does most of the county's adminis-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis.

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The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent.

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To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities.

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Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

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Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do roça* (backwoodsmen).